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Even when this is agreed, the debtor may not possess a pig of the exact required grade. This leads to fresh transactions with yet other relatives, in which the debtor seeks to exchange such smaller pigs as he possesses against the single larger one demanded of him. In this way the ball rolls on. One transaction leads to another. Every pig-owner, that is to say every male adult, has pigs out on loan and is himself also a debtor to others. No man ever sees all his own pigs around him till the day of his death, when the final effort is made to regulate his affairs. Then, debtors and creditors assemble at his house and, if the latter are lucky and the dying man solvent, a just settlement takes place. If not, the debts are handed on to his successors. No loan is ever forgotten, and, with the additional factor of the uncertain prospect of life of any given pig, the complications never end. Every native complains that he has been cheated of value by others, and disputes leading to the forcible detention, or even the theft, of pigs are not infrequent. Given such a system, and the retentive memories of the natives, it is a tribute to the general common sense of the community and to the solidarity of kinsfolk—for it is only among close kinsfolk that extensive borrowing takes place—that such scenes are not more common than they are.

Sea-voyages for trade in pigs.

This short review of the commercial value of pigs has so far been confined within the precincts of Vao and of the neighbouring Small Islands and villages of the adjacent Malekulan mainland, where, owing to intermarriage, a Vao man's maternal kinsfolk often dwell. Perhaps the most striking evidence of the great value attached to them, of the great labour willingly undertaken to preserve and increase the stock, and of the risks endured to prosecute this end, is that of the sea-voyages organised almost exclusively for the sake of obtaining fresh supplies, to make up for the loss caused by the sacrifice of immense numbers of tusked pigs during the course of innumerable rites. The construction and consecration of these sea-going canoes, by means of yet further sacrifice, will be described in a separate chapter.[1] Apart from the trade in turmeric leaves, obtained from the islands of Malo and Santo in return for pigs, and in a few other objects, such as special kinds of bark brought home from Ambrim for the construction of high-grade bark-board belts, also paid for with pigs, and in fine dancing-aprons used in a special kind of dance which are obtained from Oba, the sole commercial object of these voyages is the purchase of fresh stocks of pigs. Whatever the original use of these great canoes—and it is certain that they were, among other things, the vessels by means of which some portion at least of the ancestors of the existing population arrived on Vao—it is the trade in pigs that is now the prime object of their manufacture. For this purpose the immense labour of building them is

[1] Chapter XVII.

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721 sections of Small Island society and liable at any time to be fanned into flame.

In doing this, it must be pointed out that it is necessary always to make a clear distinction between immediate causes of war and the more fundamental social antagonisms. As I have said, the immediate causes are, as a rule, adultery, elopement and theft. Such matters in our society might lead to individual vengeance or litigation, but would not involve whole communities. The reason for this is that our society is no longer founded on kinship, this factor having lost much of its weight owing to the size of the communities we live in and a large number of other factors. Among most primitive communities, however, kinship is sociologically of fundamental importance, extending its influence in the case of the Small Islands not only over all aspects of this life, but also over the next, since kinship considerations are the chief factor in determining the action of ghosts in relation to their living survivors.

Superior and Inferior Sides of all Islands Linked respectively to Form Hostile Moieties

616 571 578 In the Small Islands by far the most important aspect of kinship as regards its influence on warfare is the division of each island, both geographically and socially, into two Sides mutually dependent on one another but permanently hostile. This dual division has a much deeper psychological import than is at first sight apparent. In the first place, while the inhabitants of each island recognise their solidarity by having a common name,[1] thus showing their conscious attitude as members of a single community, the Sides of each Island are in most cases unnamed, indicating the deeply unconscious nature of the forces at work between them. In the second place, each Side of each Island has special relations with certain of the villages on the adjacent Malekulan mainland which make them natural allies in case of war, and in all my records of fighting between the Small Islanders and their mainland neighbours there is no case in which the whole of any one island has taken up arms together, but on the contrary each such war has been waged by the members of one Side of the Island only, without help from the other.[2]

Yet further, we have already seen how each island has a geographically smaller but socially "Superior" Side owning the best beach facing the mainland, and a geographically larger but socially "Inferior" Side facing the open sea.[3] What I have not previously pointed out, however,

[1] For example, *To Vao*, the people of Vao; *To Tsan*, the people of Atchin; *To Wala*, the people of Wala; and so on.

[2] Thus, in the account given on pp. 608-12 it is the Superior Side of Vao only, unassisted by the Inferior Side, that is engaged.

[3] See p. 55.

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is the fact that the names of the parent village on the "Superior" Side of each Island are similar. Thus Pete-hul on Vao, Pweter-tsüts on Atchin and Pwe-lut on Wala have somewhat similar names each beginning with what is philologically the same syllable, in each case meaning "stone" or "stones," and regard themselves as forming a kind of aristocracy, while the names of the villages on the Inferior Sides differ considerably [1] and have less sense of solidarity among themselves. Moreover, in any war taking place between any two of the Small Islands, it is found always that in neither case is the whole island involved, but that the quarrel is in each case between the Superior Side of one Island and the Inferior Side of the other.[2] Thus, while geographically each island is a separate entity, and while the inhabitants of each island form a distinct linguistic group, from the point of view of social organisation as seen in the conduct of warfare the homogeneity of each island is transcended by that of the two moieties into which the whole cultural area comprising the Small Islands and the adjacent Malekulan mainland is divided.

In this way, the two Sides into which each Small Island is split up are seen to be but aspects of a much larger whole. These Sides in all cases have the profoundest suspicion of one another, a suspicion which is at any time liable to break out into open hostility, and in this way resemble the two matrilineal moieties found in the dual organisation area immediately to the north and east in the islands of Oba and Maewo and parts of Santo, as well as the Banks Islands and the Torres Islands.[3] Indeed, as I have suggested elsewhere, it is probable that, though now patrilineal, the Sides found in the Small Islands were at some not very distant date matrilineal, representing the matrilineal moieties in the above-named districts, before the introduction of overt patrilineal descent into this part of Malekula.

However this may be, the hostility exists, and is very deep-rooted. When we consider that at least half the population of one Side of each Island takes its wives from the other Side of the same Island the hostility may seem to us very curious. It might at first sight appear due to the resentment felt by every Small Islander towards his wife's father, who exacts from his son-in-law a lifelong tribute in pigs from which there is no escape and which the native feels at the same time insupportable and inescapable, as in fact it is. If the father dies her brothers assume his

[1] The only exception being Peter-ihi on the Inferior Side of Vao.

[2] Thus in the historical account given on pp. 613-17 the Superior Side of Vao engages the Inferior Side of Atchin, neither party being assisted by the other Side of its own Island. Compare the similar segmentation among Australian tribes, among whom "The fights that formerly took place were not wars of one tribe with another, but of one part of one tribe with one part of another, or at times of one part of a tribe with another part of the same tribe. Thus there was no unity of the tribe in warfare." (Radcliffe-Brown, *Three Tribes of Western Australia*, JRAI, vol. XLIII, pp. 144-5.)

[3] See Codrington, 3, pp. 24 ff.; Rivers, 1, chapter II, etc. For similar hostile groups in Tanna, Lifu and other parts of Melanesia, see Wedgwood, 1, pp. 8, 9.

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rôle, so that the tribute due from the husband is, in fact, payable to his wife's whole clan. This feeling of unwilling serfdom to the wife's people may contribute to the sense of hostility between the two moieties, but this could do so only in the case of patrilineal communities such as exist in the Small Islands. It could not operate in a system of matrilineal moieties, since in these a man's wife's father belongs to the same moiety as himself. Yet the mutual hostility between the two Sides of each Small Island is of the same order precisely as that between the two matrilineal moieties in neighbouring islands.

Hostility between pairs of opposites extends throughout whole social organisation.

I venture to suggest, therefore, that something deeper than mere economic considerations lies beneath this widespread tension between intermarrying moieties. This question cannot be discussed without raising the problem of the origin of the moieties themselves. For the two Sides of the Island are not the only pairs of moieties that have to be considered. As we have seen in the chapter on Social Organisation,[1] the two Sides of the Island are themselves each split into sub-moieties, represented by one double-village on one Side and two double-villages on the other. Each of these sub-moieties is also liable at any moment to become hostile to the other, and what seems on the surface to be one homogeneous double-village will suddenly split up into two hostile camps. Each village is, moreover, yet further sub-divided into two "Sides of the Stone," which may, if any member of one offend a member of the other through some individual act of violence or by the revival of some old quarrel of a more communal nature, themselves suddenly become hostilely opposed.[2] The same tendency is seen even within the "Sides of the Stone," which, as we have seen, are still further divided into two so as to form four Quarters which, though essential to the whole village organisation, themselves on occasion literally take up the cudgels against one another. Finally, each Quarter is yet further split into two "Sides of the Lodge," between whom a smouldering opposition exists, ready to burst forth at any moment if any quarrel should arise between members of the two opposing Sides.

Progressive sub-division into moieties a spontaneous phenomenon.

Rivers has attempted to explain the hostility between the two main matrilineal moieties forming the dual organisation in the Banks Islands and Northern New Hebrides as being due to the fusion of two mutually hostile peoples who nevertheless managed to settle down together without either wishing to exterminate the other.[3] While by no means denying the fact of culture-contact, evidence for which abounds in every aspect

[1] Chapter III, pp. 57-8.
[2] See p. 68.
[3] Rivers, 1, vol. II, chapter xxxvm.

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of Malekulan culture, I cannot bring myself to accept this as an explanation for the origin even of the two main moieties. Were this the case, we should expect at least that the two moieties should be named. But more often, as in the Small Islands, they are unnamed. Moreover, such an explanation could not possibly hold for the successive sub-divisions just mentioned. In fact, it will, I think, be evident from the above account that the tendency to sub-divide till the opposing groups are so small that no further sub-division is possible, far from being due to the chance fusion of two opposing groups, represents an organic process at work in the body politic itself, resembling the biological splitting of cells in living tissue.

While in the sphere of individual human relations the primary impulse towards this process lies clearly in the creative tension between the sexes, the same tension is reproduced on the sociological level in the relation between the two opposing moieties, each of which at the same time provides wives for the other. The two sexes must, however, become differentiated before they can unite. The same tendency to split and re-unite (for the hostile moieties are in each case dependent on one another for their very existence and for the performance of every ritual act) is seen also in a highly developed condition in class systems of kinship. It is found also in the realm of psychology, the health of each individual depending largely on the maintenance of a satisfactory tension between pairs of complementary opposites. If the tension becomes too one-sided this results in a psychotic condition upsetting the balance of the whole psyche in the same way that anything resembling a war of extermination between any of the two pairs of moieties on Vao would destroy the life of the whole island. There is thus strong presumptive evidence of a close analogy between the processes of biology, psychology and sociology. In each case the ideal pattern is the initial split followed by the re-union of complementary opposites under conditions of permanent and creative tension.

In the case of life on the Small Island of Vao the tension shows itself in the hostility above mentioned, and I trust that in the above brief discussion I may have succeeded in showing in some measure that the hostility so deplored by missionaries and others was, in fact, essential to the health and well-being of the race, so long as it was circumscribed in its relations to a comparatively closed area of small dimensions, and to a population, if we include all the Small Islands and adjacent mainland at the height of their prosperity before the advent of the white man, of not more than a few thousand. Now that the islands have been opened up to contact with the rest of the world, thus automatically destroying the circumscribed conditions under which alone such a primitive system can work, the problem has become very different, and the natives themselves have begun to deplore the internecine strife that prevents them from uniting against the common foe.